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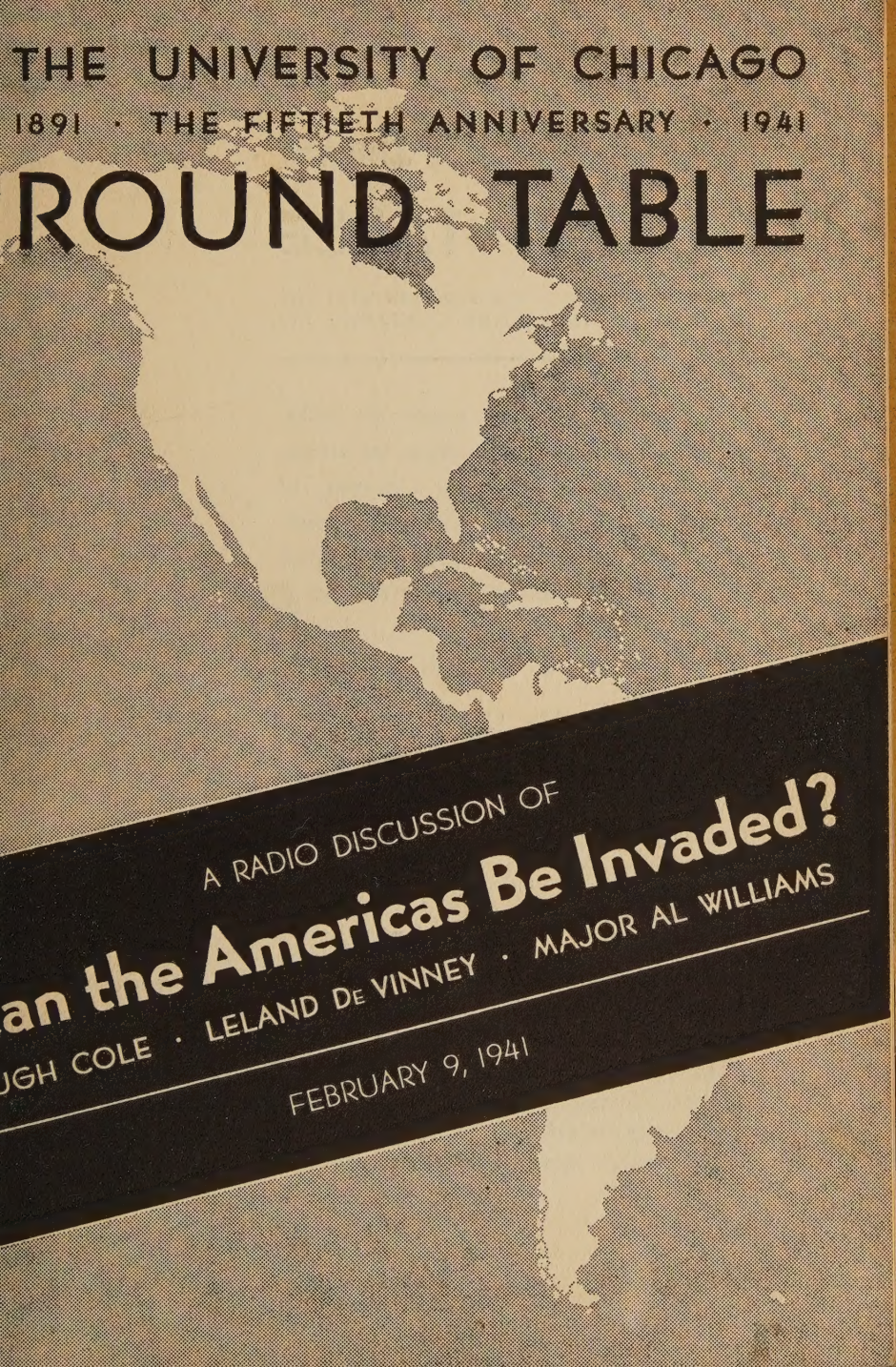
ROUND TABLE



A RADIO DISCUSSION OF

an the Americas Be Invaded?

UGH COLE · LELAND DE VINNEY · MAJOR AL WILLIAMS

FEBRUARY 9, 1941

The University of Chicago

ROUND TABLE

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NOTE

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CAN THE AMERICAS BE INVADED?

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST*

HUGH M. COLE, Instructor in History, University of Chicago

LELAND DE VINNEY, Instructor in Sociology, University of Chicago

MAJOR AL WILLIAMS, Aeronautical Expert and Columnist

* A radio discussion broadcast from the University of Chicago over the Red Network of the National Broadcasting Company, Sunday, February 9, 1941, at 1:30 P.M., Central Standard Time.

The ROUND TABLE, oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without a script. Subjects are chosen because of their social, political, or economic significance. The program has no "ax to grind." In the selection of speakers, the effort is to provide a balanced discussion by participants who have special competence and knowledge. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company.

CAN THE AMERICAS BE INVADED?

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MR. DE VINNEY: The entire nation is watching to see what the Senate is going to do this week about the "lease-lend" bill.[1] One of the important questions lying behind the interest of the nation is: If Hitler wins this war, will he invade the Americas? Mr. Hull says that he will and can; Mr. Lindbergh says that he can't and won't.

I understand, Williams, that you were in Washington Friday [February 7] testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. How did you answer that question?[2]

MR. WILLIAMS: I disagreed very vigorously with Mr. Hull and tried to prove that Hitler hasn't got the machine to launch an invasion and make it stick, and that we have enough to stop it if he does.

MR. DE VINNEY: Cole, what is your position on this?

MR. COLE: I want first to make very clear that I represent myself alone and speak for no organization, and I think that is also true of Williams.

MR. WILLIAMS: That's right!

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[1] *H.R. 1776 passed in the House of Representatives, 260 to 165, February 8, 1941, and is now under consideration in the Senate.*

[2] *Major Williams testified against the bill on the ground it would strip the United States of needed military aircraft.*

MR. DE VINNEY: Do you agree with the Major that Hitler can't attack America?

MR. COLE: I don't. I hate to take exception to an expert of Williams' caliber, but I believe an invasion of the South Americas is a possibility.

MR. DE VINNEY: Now clearly, whether Hitler can or cannot invade the Americas is in large part a military question. For that reason the University of Chicago ROUND TABLE is presenting two experts qualified to speak on the military phases of this question. We might raise one question that is continually being asked: Are we next on the Nazi time-table?

MR. WILLIAMS: I don't think so.

MR. COLE: I believe that nobody can be certain about the Nazi time-table, but that certainly we have to prepare for every possibility. I believe we have to recognize a distinct possibility of our having a place in the Nazi time-table.

MR. WILLIAMS: I have to modify my stand immediately: not to agree, but the possibility is not to be scouted, and I will not say this cannot happen or that cannot happen. I am thinking in terms of practicality: What can this guy Hitler do now?

MR. DE VINNEY: Williams, you think we are not next on the Nazi time-table, and Cole, you think we may be. What about the assertion that since the Nazis could not get across 21 miles of the English Channel they can't get across 3,000 miles of the Atlantic Ocean?

MR. COLE: It seems to me that is one of the poorest slogans that has been kicked around this country for a long while. In the first place I believe nobody has tried yet to cross the Channel and, therefore, the assertion can be thrown out as meaningless. In the

second place, I believe we have to take a very important military fact into consideration—the concentration of forces on the defensive. England's defenses are concentrated along her coastline for such an attack. We have no such concentration for defense along the South American coast.[3]

MR. WILLIAMS: That is a darn good point! Everybody has been assuming, rationally indeed, that Hitler tried to make this invasion and fooled or fumbled or just did not get through with it. I don't believe it has been attempted. I believe that anything that has been going on to date may have been preparatory to it, but out of that situation we get a great part of our answer concerning the safety of America.

MR. DE VINNEY: If Hitler does try to cross 3,000 miles of the Atlantic Ocean, what is the American Navy going to be doing?

MR. WILLIAMS: Remember, those Germans, to get from the Continent to the Island of England must cross water. Those are the sea zones I am talking about. It would be an unwarranted indictment of British courage to think that they would let Hitler come across without chucking their entire sea force in there. So, if the invasion succeeds, the British fleet is automatically out of existence, because the fleet without the Islands is no good and the Islands without the fleet are no good.

MR. COLE: And at the same time there is every possibility that our fleet will be engaged in the Pacific, since if British sea power is destroyed Japan will immediately embark upon expansion to the

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[3] *For an analysis of the possibility of a German invasion of Great Britain, see the* ROUND TABLE *broadcast of August 25, 1940—"Blitzkrieg on Britain"—on which Professors Cole, Deutsch, and Laves participated.*

south. In other words, for a period of time, it seems to me, the Atlantic would be undefended by either British or American fleets.[4]

MR. DE VINNEY: All right, gentlemen! There appear to be points of agreement and points of disagreement on these and other questions that are relevant to this problem, "Can the Americas be invaded?"

MR. WILLIAMS: Will you agree with me, Cole, or disagree with me, in my thesis that if England loses her fleet is gone?

MR. COLE: I quite agree. I have always believed that at the moment of invasion the entire British fleet would be sent into the narrow waters of the Channel, and that there it would very certainly be destroyed; that, in other words, there is no question of turning over a great portion of the British fleet to Germany.

MR. WILLIAMS: That is what we depend upon, apparently, rather than any promises made by Mr. Churchill which we know circumstances could remove from all possibility of fulfilment.

MR. COLE: Quite right!

MR. DE VINNEY: Would you assume that as soon as the British fleet has been destroyed by defeat of England that Hitler will next plan to attack the Western Hemisphere?

MR. WILLIAMS: No, by Jove! Certainly not! That guy has a job of homework to do as soon as the defeat of England is accomplished. No conqueror can call the deal closed as soon as the con-

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[4] *In testifying on H.R. 1776—the "lease-lend" bill—Secretary of the Navy Knox, in comparing the navies of the United States and of the Axis (Germany, Italy, and Japan) stated the combined Axis navies outnumber the American navy today 1,835,000 tons to 1,250,000 tons, 658 fighting ships to 312.*

flict is finished. He has one dickens of a policing job to do the minute he ceases fighting.

MR. COLE: It amuses me that you should support the historian's point of view and that I should, peculiarly enough, represent the point of view of the technologist. Here I am saying that you can't go on the historical past, such as when Napoleon had trouble policing the Continent. I believe that technology has put weapons into the hands of Hitler which make it possible for him today, with a few machine guns and planes, to police the Continent in a way which Napoleon could never do it.

MR. WILLIAMS: Would you deny an aviator the pages and records of history? I must always look back to see where I was, and look around me to see where I am, and to find out where I am going.

MR. COLE: It looks as though I am betraying history at this point, doesn't it?

MR. DE VINNEY: Now, gentlemen, it's interesting that you disagree about whether Hitler is or is not likely to try to invade the Western Hemisphere, but, clearly, as military men you are more concerned . . . .

MR. WILLIAMS: No, by Jove! Let us make a distinction there. We are not talking about whether he is *likely* to do it or not, or whether he *wants* to do it or not. We don't know what that guy is thinking about. I think Cole and myself are intimately concerned about whether Hitler *can* do it.

MR. DE VINNEY: That is exactly the question I was starting to raise here.

MR. WILLIAMS: I'm sorry!

MR. DE VINNEY: Since, whether we think he is likely to or not likely to, there is a possibility he might try to invade the West-

ern Hemisphere, the real question, and the one you gentlemen are here to discuss, is: If he tries it, does he have a chance of success? When we ask, "Can Hitler invade the Americas?" are you gentlemen thinking about continental United States?

MR. COLE: I certainly am not, and I think Williams will agree with me. I believe that there is no grave danger of an invasion of the 48 states by way of either the Atlantic or the Pacific seaboard. Raiding may occur perhaps, by a cruiser or a few bombing planes sneaking across, but the real invasion danger is in South America—certainly not on our Atlantic or Pacific seaboard. How about that, Williams?

MR. WILLIAMS: I can't disagree with that. Like the Germans or not, we can't consider them militarily stupid, and it is a fundamental rule of military tactics never to attack the enemy's strength, and certainly the strength of the Western Hemisphere is in the United States and there is no nourishment attacking that.

MR. DE VINNEY: Gentlemen, I notice that Major Nason, writing in *Look* magazine recently, described exactly how he thought Hitler might invade the North American Continent. Do you disagree with him?[5]

MR. WILLIAMS: Jimminy crickets! Listen! He might do a lot of things. Some guys might come down a cosmic ray and what would we be doing? Poor humans standing around here saying, "I don't think he can do it," and the thing ends there. I want to find out how that guy is going to get into my bailiwick.

MR. DE VINNEY: All right, gentlemen! The question boils down to: Can Hitler invade the Americas? You say that if he could he would have the best chance in South America.

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[5] *See the list of suggested readings on page 23.*

MR. COLE: I quite agree, but I should like first to lay down three pre-conditions which I believe must occur before we can expect a real invasion attempt. The first of these is the fall of Britain and the disappearance of the British fleet from the South Atlantic. The second of these is that the blow must fall before we have our so-called "two-ocean navy." That is, sometime before 1945 or 1946 while most of our fleet is still in the Pacific. In the third place, I believe that Hitler is most likely to attack if we fail adequately to fortify our bases or to extend the position of our bases along the South Atlantic Coast of South America.[6]

MR. DE VINNEY: Do these conditions for a German invasion of the Western Hemisphere seem reasonable to you?

MR. WILLIAMS: Quite! There are a lot of them and I am going to have difficulty going back and remembering each one of them.

MR. COLE: Let me restate them for you.

MR. WILLIAMS: Don't bother with that. I have something on my mind that's just bubbling to go. I am still thinking of the fact that you can't walk one of those miles from Africa, the Azores, or some place like that. You've got to float across if you are coming here on the sea, and you've got to fly across if you are coming by air. I want to know how somebody can get across those miles (that can't be walked) with the junk and the ammunition and tons of

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[6] *September 3, 1940, President Roosevelt announced arrangements had been completed for the transfer of fifty "over-age" destroyers to Great Britain in return for 99-year leases of naval and air bases in Newfoundland, Bermuda, the Bahamas, Jamaica, St. Lucia, Antigua, Trinidad, and British Guiana. At the same time Lord Lothian, then British Ambassador to the United States, announced it was the "settled policy" of the British government not to "surrender or sink" the fleet.*

stuff that are necessary to make a sticking impression upon this hemisphere.

But you made a very strong point a moment ago by drawing a distinction between an invasion and a raid. You are in a better position to explain that difference than I am.

MR. COLE: I think that when we say "raid" we mean that a few bombers may cross, with no hope of returning, and drop bombs on New York; a Japanese raider may sneak up to a South American or North American coastal town and shell it. When I speak of "invasion," however, I mean the occupying and the holding of territory by the friends of Hitler or by Hitlerian armies themselves.

MR. DE VINNEY: In the *Look* article to which I referred a moment ago Major Nason points out that the Germans, in case of a British defeat, would have something like three times the amount of bottoms, with which to transport an army, that the United States had in the last World War.[7]

MR. WILLIAMS: Well, the United States was in a dickens of a fix in the last World War as far as the statistics remind me. They show that in the first seven months the A.E.F. was over there we only shipped them (according to General Dawes) about 500,000 tons of stuff, whereas they bought 2,000,000 tons in France.

Now if that is true, why doesn't England, with the superiority in bottoms today, go and land on that continental coast? That's an impossibility!

MR. COLE: I am not willing to agree that it is necessary for Hitler to send 10 or 12 or 15 divisions, with all their supplies, and all their machines of war. I believe that you are going to have a

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[7] *Major Nason estimated that Hitler would have 14,000,000 tons of shipping available—"far more than he would need for an invasion."*

kind of political-psychological-economic infiltration into South America before the military invasion takes place.

MR. WILLIAMS: We are going to get you into our air force. You are talking modern war.

MR. DE VINNEY: Let's see where we stand. It seems that you have agreed that at least we have to be ready for the possibility that Hitler might try to invade the Western Hemisphere. If he does make that effort, you are agreed that he is very unlikely to attack the North American Continent, but under the following three conditions he might seek to invade South America: (1) The removal of the British fleet from the South Atlantic; (2) before the United States has a genuine two-ocean navy; and (3) the failure of the United States to establish a long and powerful ring of air and naval bases clear down to the southern tip of South America.

Let me ask you this question: If these conditions are met and if Hitler decides to try such an attack, what will happen? What will he do?

MR. COLE: Let me ask a question first, and it is a question I should like to have Williams answer—I have my own ideas on the subject. I'd like to know whether Williams believes there is a possibility that England will fall; in other words, that our first pre-condition will be met.

MR. WILLIAMS: I certainly do! I think that England has no chance to win this war. By winning the war she would have to invade the Continent and accomplish the only war aim announced to date, which is to smash Hitler, and that means going in there to do it. Whether she can defend herself is in grave doubt in my mind.

MR. DE VINNEY: You think then, Williams, there is not only a possibility but there is practically a certainty that England will lose the war?

MR. WILLIAMS: I most assuredly do!

MR. COLE: I do not. I believe the odds are just slightly on England against Hitler, but that the odds of a German success are large enough so that we can consider this problem as if the English fleet had disappeared.

MR. WILLIAMS: Why wouldn't it be appropriate to take the lessons of this war to date and apply them to the defense of this hemisphere? We have the statements of our own Secretary of the Navy Edison, for instance, before he vacated the post (and there was darn big significance in that).[8] He said that our warships are not able to withstand concentrated air power based on shore. In the Skaggerak, the Achilles heel, the enemy communication lines were wide open to attack; the British sea fleet, the biggest fleet in the world, failed to go in there; could not do it. They were so afraid to get near the shore-based aircraft that they kept one aircraft carrier 180 miles off shore and tried to go through there.[9]

MR. COLE: I'd like to ask you now about your study of the German air force in 1938. How many military planes does Germany have? In the second place, how many long-range bombers—the kind we would have to worry about in this hemisphere—do the Germans have?

MR. WILLIAMS: I am glad you ask that, because the American public is ready now to listen to cool reasoning. It is no longer treason

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[8] *Charles Edison was Assistant Secretary of the Navy under the late Claude A. Swanson and was named Acting Secretary upon the death of Swanson in 1939 and became Secretary in 1940. He was succeeded in June, 1940, by Frank Knox, publisher of the "Chicago Daily News" and Republican Vice-Presidential candidate in 1936. Edison was later elected Governor of New Jersey (November, 1940).*

[9] *That is, in the naval fighting connected with the landing of German troops in Norway in April, 1940.*

to reason in this country. When I returned from Germany in 1938, alarmed, to tell my people that Germany had the Messerschmitt 109, that I had flown it, that I knew all about the dive bomber, and the Heinkel 111, the medium-range bomber (the three potent weapons of the German air force) they wouldn't listen to me. I told them I had flown these planes and I told them the speeds. The speeds were much higher than we had developed. The American public was told that I was a pro-Nazi. As a matter of fact, I am so darn pro-American I don't know who to use it against.

So I'll answer your question specifically. I believe that German air power runs somewhere between 35,000 and 50,000 planes, and of that enormous air power I do not believe (and conservative opinion re-enforces my own) that more than 2 per cent is in the form of long-range four-engine bombers which can hit us. So far as invasion is concerned, until bases are consolidated over here wash out the rest because their range is not over 250 or 300 miles out and the same distance back.

MR. COLE: We agree there entirely, for I believe that the first stage of invasion is not going to involve the use of long-range bombers. I don't think, therefore, that they play a vitally important role in the whole problem. The first step in invasion is going to come the day the British blockade is liquidated in the South Atlantic, and the first German cargo vessel appears in a South American port.

MR. WILLIAMS: Do you know what? I'll be in America's long-range bomber No. 1 waiting for that Dutch ship, or whatever it is, to come into that harbor, We are going to blow it out of the water the way the Germans blew the English stuff out of the water, because you cannot float in the presence of shore-based aircraft.

MR. DE VINNEY: Just a minute! Do you mean that the United States' air fleet is going to bomb the merchant ships of a peaceful nation out of the water because they are trading between Europe and South America?

MR. WILLIAMS: There is not much difficulty in distinguishing between peaceful and potentially non-peaceful ships. I think if we are alert in attending to our own business instead of that of the whole darn planet we'd be right down there to welcome them just as the Indians were here when we came.

MR. DE VINNEY: Blockade South America and . . . .

MR. WILLIAMS: Blockade? No, because this German thing we are thinking about is an ideology. Americans won't think. You can't lick an ideology with baseball bats and tanks and planes. You've got to out-perform it. That's the reason I keep insisting: police yourselves here and make this outfit work.

MR. COLE: All right! I want to ask you a question, then. Are you going to say that at the moment we have long-range bombers to operate from our southernmost base in British Guiana to cut across the line which the Germans would undoubtedly follow from their positions in Portugal which they would certainly take over after the British fall? Are you going to say that at the moment we have bombers which could operate to sever that line?

MR. WILLIAMS: Yes, if you'll give me that map over there I'll show you. At present we have long-range bombers. We have developed that type, but my point is that we keep shipping them away. We've got the flying fortress and our best base, now established by law and agreement, is at British Guiana. All right! Okay! Does anyone think for a moment that we would not extend that with a temporary base in the direction of Pernambuco, for instance? Does anyone try to tell me that with any form of political infiltration into Brazil you can put railroads in overnight, that you can put flying fields into existence, that you can get gas there? I am thinking about the junk that has to be sent along to establish an air base.

MR. COLE: You and I are really in fundamental disagreement

HYPOTHETICAL STEPS TO AN INV

OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

1. If Great Britain falls, Portugal and her dependencies, the Azores and Cape Verde Islands, will be dominated by the Axis and provide ideal bases for operations in the Atlantic Ocean.

2. The West Coast of Africa is closest to South America at Dakar, a well-equipped port and logical jumping-off point for west-bound aggressors.

3. Either north or south of Pernambuco the coast of South America is relatively unprotected and might, especially with internal aid, afford landing places for invading forces at such places as Belem (Para), Fortalesa, and Natal.

4. The Panama Canal is a vital link in American Atlantic-Pacific defenses and an important objective for invading forces moving north from South America. At present the Canal is protected by new bases not yet fortified.

5. Always considered the most vulnerable part of the United States, the Mississippi Valley would be the logical locale for the actual invasion of the United States.

there. The progress of this war has shown without any question that a small force, efficiently equipped with automatic arms, can establish and hold a position without much difficulty. In the second place I believe that you are going to have your bases for German ships and German bombers prepared in advance by those little dictators in South America who are already inclined toward Berlin and are going to be more so after Berlin has finally whipped Britain.

MR. WILLIAMS: Quite so, *if* we still continue to look all around the world instead of paying attention to our own problems. I think Mr. Hitler, if he does make such an effort, is going to be the first guy that ever gave America a fundamental purpose, which is to take care of itself. If we are alert to that, I can't conceive of our intelligence outfit, our strategists, our army and navy and air force knowing that all these things are going on down there without also owning the same type of highly efficient mechanized troops to go in and do something before the Germans get there.

Who was the Civil War cavalry leader who said, "The secret is to get there fusstest with the mostest"? If we don't determine to get there "fusstest" we might as well stay home altogether.

MR. COLE: Do you know how many troops we have available for that sort of thing right now? We have two marine battalions, and it will take more than two marine battalions, if the day comes, and it may come very soon.

MR. WILLIAMS: If you get me talking about the negligence of America's fundamental policy toward national defense, I may say things that will keep me off the air forever.

MR. DE VINNEY: Gentlemen, I am not a military man, but it seems to me what you are saying amounts to this: that the only way to keep Germany out of South America is for the United States to take it over herself before Germany does.

MR. COLE: We can also establish a series of bases all the way down to the Falkland Islands at the southernmost tip of South America.[10]

MR. DE VINNEY: Suppose it were true that Germany could establish bases and get military control of the southern part of South America—that is, below the bulge—would that constitute a threat to the United States? Can they get up over that bulge into this country, or would we still be secure?[11]

MR. COLE: I believe it constitutes a very definite threat to the United States, for this reason: We have a natural fortification. Once we allow an enemy within one of the outworks of that fortification (I mean South America) we become a beleagured fortress and the next step is to give away something more. You can go around the bulge of Brazil, you can fly over it, you can convoy troops, planes, etc., around it. The next step is the Canal, and the Canal is a very, very important link in our defenses which could be wiped out for any military usefulness tomorrow.

MR. WILLIAMS: True, all true! But don't forget that there is not one walkable gap over those oceans, and if we have any kind of an air force we are still going to interrupt their sea-borne burdens, those sea lines of communications, just the same as the German air force did in the North Sea. There isn't a battleship in the North

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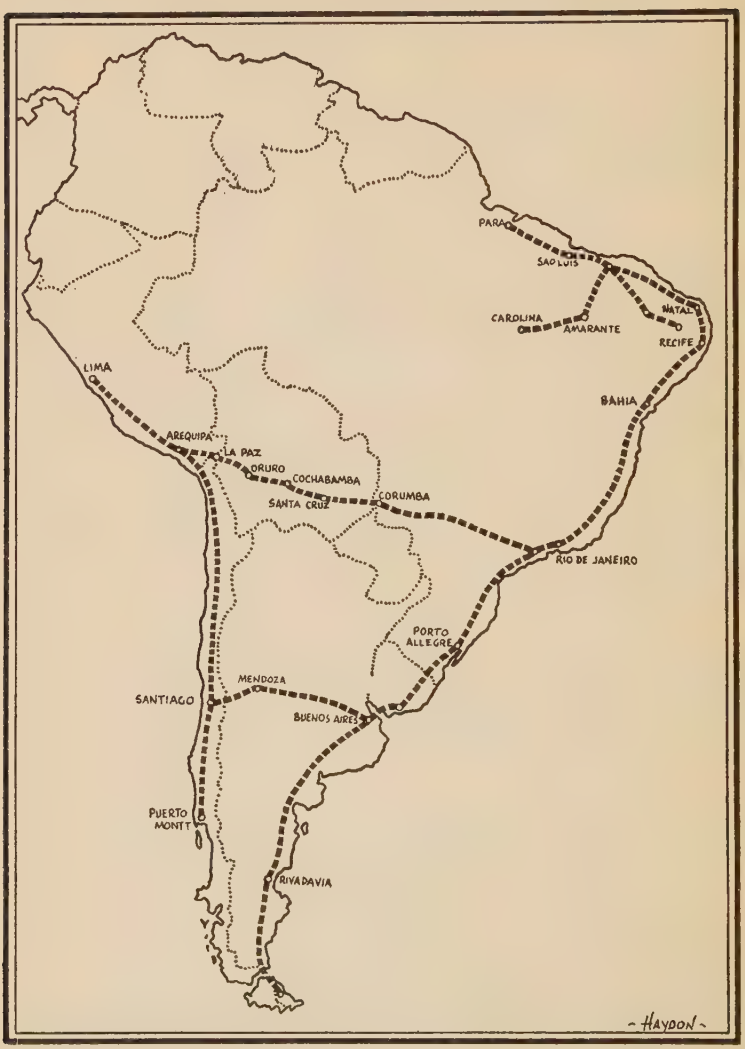
[10] *This would include areas now controlled by Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina. The Falkland Islands, under British sovereignty, lie some 400 miles west of the eastern end of the Straits of Magellan at the southern tip of the South American continent.*

[11] *By the "bulge" is meant the widest section of the South American continent, including roughly northern Brazil, northern Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador. It is on the eastern coast of this "bulge" that South America lies closest to Europe and Africa (from the Cape Verde Islands, Dakar, and other West African ports).*

GERMAN-CONTROLLED AIRLINES



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Sea today. We don't need this two-ocean fleet (we have agreed that that is sort of a messy name), but the new fleet which is coming into existence and the one that is already in existence is made up of destroyers. A batch of destroyers is worth ten battleships. You didn't hear the British asking us for any battleships, did you? This is a hit-and-run war, to attempt to offset the air power activities with some form of sea power which does not consist of giant sea dinosaurs.

MR. COLE: Where Williams and I fundamentally disagree is in this: That I believe we already have created those bases in South America for the Germans where they can walk in, where they can land both troops and ships and planes. It is here that we fundamentally disagree.

MR. DE VINNEY: I should also like to ask Williams if the American air force is now in position to do the job he speaks about.

MR. WILLIAMS: As I said before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (we finally waked them up down there; they were all slumbering), which is considering the "give, and for keeps bill" (you call it "lease-lend" or something), American air power is a myth. They wanted to know why, with all production going on? I said: "It is like a bucket that has a hole in the bottom; you are giving the planes away."

MR. DE VINNEY: It seems to me you are talking against yourself.

MR. WILLIAMS: No, I'm not.

MR. DE VINNEY: A minute ago you said that the American air force is going to prevent invasion in South America and now you talk about a bucket with a hole in the bottom.

MR. WILLIAMS: Not by a long shot! Solder up the bottom of the pot and then keep pouring the planes in, and you'll get your air force and get it darn quick!

MR. DE VINNEY: How long?

MR. WILLIAMS: Almost immediately. Look at the production scale that we are operating on today. We want those four-engine bombers that we were talking about a little while ago. You can't give them away and still have them!

MR. DE VINNEY: Apparently you have agreed that if Germany were to establish herself in South America that would constitute a very serious threat to North America. Your point of disagreement is whether or not Germany *can* establish herself in South America. There again you seem to agree that she can under existing conditions.

MR. WILLIAMS: *No!*

MR. DE VINNEY: That raises the question, What ought the United States to do, from a military point of view, to minimize the possibility of this happening?

MR. WILLIAMS: Pipe down on this defensive, on this protective, atmosphere that permeates the land! Stop yelling at other nations! Get busy! We are not tied to any other nation that I know of. Let's get going and take care of ourselves!

MR. DE VINNEY: By doing what?

MR. WILLIAMS: Stop shipping stuff abroad immediately.

MR. COLE: There is, however, something else that we can do. We can begin to secure bases from which these bombing planes can operate. The present bombing radius from the Canal Zone is about a thousand miles, and you have to go a long distance beyond that. I think Williams will agree. And something else: We have to build up a highly mobile army of transports available for those troops and be able to put those troops on a South American coast line, far below the bulge perhaps, in an attempt to stop a German invasion.

BRAZIL STRENGTHENS HER DEFENSE

★ Military Air Bases

MR. DE VINNEY: What if the South American nations don't want our troops on their territory?

MR. COLE: There is one answer that is not so pleasant and that

involves the political control of the South American countries by the United States if they refuse to play ball.

MR. DE VINNEY: Would I be correct in saying, then, that the military man's solution to this problem is for the United States to take over, as far as necessary, the military and political bases of South American nations in order to keep Germany in Europe?

MR. WILLIAMS: No, no! You don't need to go to war in South America to protect it. If you do you are going to get licked. You can take British Guiana and consolidate it into an enormous "Gibraltar-of-the-air-force," plus those mechanized units you are talking about. Stop operating out of New York harbor and out of Washington by television.

MR. DE VINNEY: Apparently you have agreed that there are possibilities of Germany invading the Americas unless the United States develops sufficient military power to be able to keep Germany away from South America.

The military aspects of this problem are only a part of it. The possible economic and political infiltration into South America, in case of a German victory, is another question which will be discussed within two or three weeks on this ROUND TABLE.

SUGGESTED READINGS

HAGOOD, JOHNSON, "Our Defenseless Coast," *Collier's*, June 22, 1940. *A survey of America's coast defenses—their good points and their bad—with some suggestions for their improvement.*

KIRALFY, ALEXANDER, "American Pacific Strategy," *Asia*, November, 1940. *A description of America's strength and weakness in the Pacific, with some attention to strategic problems deserving solution.*

LINDBERGH, CHARLES A., "Impregnable America," *Scribner's Commentator*, January, 1941. *A leading American isolationist considers the case against invasion and for a policy of non-intervention.*

NASON, MAJOR LEONARD, "How the United States Can Be Invaded," *Look*, November 19, 1940. *A professional critique of possible German plans for invading the United States; with a map.*

"Report No. 1615; Senate, 76th Congress, 3rd Session. Calendar No. 1677." (Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.) *Testimony on the conscription issue by Admirals Stark, Leahy, Cook, King, Laning, Taussig, Major George Fielding Eliot, and others, to the effect that the Americas cannot be invaded.*

"This Is How the United States May Be Invaded," *Life*, June 24, 1940. *A picturized story of how German troops might attack the United States and force America's capitulation.*

WILLIAMS, MAJOR ALFORD, *Air Power*. New York: Coward-McCann, 1940. *A personal and historical record of the rise of Italian and German air power, with some comments on the place of air power in modern warfare.*

OBJECTIVE QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION

The answers to the following questions may be found in the text of the broadcast, and page references are provided to assist in locating the answers.

*

1. What are the approximate distances between German-occupied France and England and between Europe and America? Page 3.
2. On what grounds do the ROUND TABLE experts agree the British fleet will not be available to either the United States or Germany if England falls? Page 4.
3. Outline the disagreement between the participants on the problems Hitler may have on his hands if he wins as far as policing Europe is concerned. Pages 5–6.
4. What rule of military strategy would the Nazis violate should they attack the Western Hemisphere through North America? Page 7.
5. List the three "pre-conditions" of invasion outlined by Mr. Cole. Page 8.
6. Distinguish between an "invasion" and a "raid." Page 9.
7. What lesson concerning air power versus sea power does Major Williams draw from the maneuvering in the Skaggerak during the Norwegian campaign? Page 11.
8. What, according to Major Williams, are the three "potent weapons" of the German air force? Page 12.
9. The total strength of the *Luftwaffe* is approximately how many planes, according to Major Williams' estimate? Of this number, what per cent are long-range bombers? Page 13.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The following questions of wider scope, intended for discussion, are suggested by the broadcast, and answers may be found in the literature on the subject listed in the section "Suggested Readings," found on page 23.

*

1. Consider the various "pre-conditions" of a Nazi invasion of South America. Do you agree that those mentioned in the ROUND TABLE are valid? What additional conditions, if any, do you think might be necessary before Germany could attempt to conquer South America? Discuss.

2. Before the question, "*Can* Germany invade the Western Hemisphere?" is asked, you might inquire, "Does Germany *want* to conquer the Western Hemisphere?" Build a case on either the negative or affirmative side of this question.

3. What should America do to prevent any invasion anywhere in the Western Hemisphere? Compare your answers with those of the ROUND TABLE experts.

4. Outline the technique you think might be used to invade the Americas. Show how fifth column agents, sea power, the air force, infantry, and the other parts of total war might be specifically applied to the problem of conquering and holding a part (or all) of this hemisphere.

5. What policy do you believe the United States should adopt in South and Central America, if the danger of invasion seems at all real? Do you think the United States should seek to establish bases in Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina? Should we seek joint army–navy–air force action with the South American nations?

The Listeners' Round Table . . . .

Letters to the ROUND TABLE *frequently contain interesting and illuminating sidelights on the subject matter discussed on the air. These comments are from letters received following the broadcast discussion of "The Last Ten Years," February 2, 1941.*

*

Thankful

I listen to your program regularly and in a world torn by war and disorder I find it interesting and informative to listen to current problems and situations discussed on the ROUND TABLE. We have much to be thankful for in that we of all the major countries in the world still have the right and privilege of saying what we please when we please. No dictator has or will tolerate a free, uncensored press or radio and it is only when we lose either or both of these that I will fear for the future of democracy. With these gone, we may be sure that the spirit and body of democratic government has disappeared forever.

C. M. S., Jr., Tennessee

*

Congratulations

I suppose we Americans are about the most unappreciative of any race on earth. I have been listening to these broadcasts, whenever possible, for ten years and have not taken the time to tell you how much I enjoy them, until now. I think the ROUND TABLE is one of the finest programs on the air and I want to congratulate you on your tenth anniversary.

J. H. T., Nebraska

*

Slogan

May I congratulate and also thank you for one of the finest experiences I have had listening to you. . . . .

Earlier in the discussion I lost a bit as I was hunting wildly for a pencil to jot down what seemed to me one of the finest of slogans for any student, whether in an organized college or the vast school of experience we all go through. I am not sure which one of you said it (I am quite convinced, however, that any one of you might have the same thought): "Of course I want to learn more, but I also want to understand more."

B. C., Michigan

*

Police Powers

Your discussion was very interesting, but it has occurred to me that there is another aspect of what was

called the original, exclusive functions of the government of these United States—namely, the police function within the country and the same type of function exercised toward disturbers of the peace outside our own borders. My point is that from another point of view there has been no extension of the functions of government but merely an orientation toward a more rational method of exercising the policeman's task, both within and without.

Is it not true that practically all the social legislation, from Bismarck to Roosevelt, has had as its objective the removal of conditions that breed lawlessness? This does not, it seems to me, necessarily involve any change in theory as to the functions of government. On the contrary, there is much evidence that even the administration has not progressed beyond police-power thinking, either at home or internationally. WPA workers are paid just enough to prevent violence that would require messy blackjack methods, but the government does not recognize any obligation to raise their standard of living above subsistence levels even when, instead of "made work," they are asked to take their places beside "respectable" workers in defense industry, now said to be the most important business of the nation. Is the international picture any different? Have we recognized any obligation beyond a less ruthless method of exercising the world police function of a "great" power?

A. H. A. (no state)

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124. *Should America Conscript Men Now?*
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132. *Conscript Wealth, Too?*
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1941

147. *More Aid to Britain Now?*
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Altoona, Pa.	WFBG	1310	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	1370	Nashville, Tenn.	WSM	650
Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	740	New York, N.Y	WEAF	660
Baltimore, Md.	WFBR	1270	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	780
Boston, Mass.	WNAC	1230	Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1020
Buffalo, N.Y.	WBEN	900	Pittsburgh, Pa.	WCAE	1220
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1210	Portland, Me.	WCSH	940
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1210	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Cincinnati, Ohio	WSAI	1330	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1350
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1070	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1150
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Savannah, Ga.	WSAV	1310
Dayton, Ohio	WING	1380	Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	790
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	920	Springfield, Ohio	WIZE	1310
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1200	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	620
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1270	Toledo, O.	WSPD	1340
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Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1370	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	1310
Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1310	Zanesville, Ohio	WHIZ	1210
Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1210			

1:30 P.M. CENTRAL STANDARD TIME

Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	930	Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1500
Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	Milwaukee, Wis.	WTMJ	620
Bristol, Tenn.	WOPI	1500	Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.	KSTP	1460
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1320
Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1290	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	900
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	630	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	940	Pittsburg, Kans.	KOAM	790
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WGL	1370	Rochester, Minn.	KROC	1310
Hattiesburg, Miss.	WFOR	1370	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1420
Jackson, Miss.	WJDX	1270	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	550
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1450
Kingsport, Tenn.	WKPT	1370	Sioux Falls, S.D.	KSOO	1110
Laurel, Miss.	WAML	1310	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1230
Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	890	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1200
Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	940	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1140
Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1280	Wichita, Kans.	KANS	1210

12:30 P.M. MOUNTAIN STANDARD TIME

Billings, Mont.	KGHL	780	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	900
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1350	Safford, Ariz.	KGLV	1420
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1420	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1290
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1340	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1260
Denver, Colo.	KOA	830	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1240
Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1210	Yuma, Arizona	KYUM	1210
Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620			

11:30 A.M. PACIFIC STANDARD TIME

Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	920
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1410	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590
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GUNS or BUTTER?

Must National Defense Lower Your Standard of Living?

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FEBRUARY 16, 1941

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LEO CHERNE, Executive Secretary, The Research Institute of America

HARRY GIDEONSE, President, Brooklyn College

(THIRD PARTICIPANT TO BE ANNOUNCED)

•

SUGGESTED READINGS

"Guns? Yes, and Butter, Too," *New York Times Magazine*, July 21, 1940.

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"The Business Side of National Defense," *Business Week*, June 8, 1940.

"Of Arms and Automobiles," *Fortune*, December, 1940.

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